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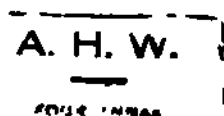
RAJA SERIES.

# MEN OF TO-DAY SERIES

BOOK X

## Mustafa Kemal Pasha

( The story of his life )



First Edition.....December 1938

Second Edition.....August 1940

C. S. RAJA & CO.

BARODA

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## Author's Note

The death of Mustafa Kemal Pasha occurred before this book was completed. The readers will find the first introductory pages portraying him as though he is still alive. Mention of his death is made in the closing chapter.

H. R. A.

## **Mustafa Kemal Pasha**

Like Mussolini and Hitler, Mustafa Kemal is a product of the Great War. The great carnage changed the history of nations. In the first place monarchy was replaced by Republic; secondly nationalism got a new and forcible impetus, and out of the chaos and blood-shed sprang a new generation with new ideas and new hopes. The cycle of birth, activity, death and resurrection revolves incessantly repeating history. The story of Mustafa Kemal is the story of resurrection of the Turkish nation. Grey Wolf came to its own once again in the person of Kemal.

There is a gulf of difference between the dictator of Turkey and the dictators of Central Europe. The Grey Wolf has no expansionist ambition like that of Hitler and Mussolini. These two dictators are always leading their people to danger and death. There is sufficient evidence to show that all is not well in Germany and Italy. Mussolini seems to be satisfied with his African Empire; now he is striving to set at right domestic affairs. Hitler having got into trouble at home is trying to cheat or hoodwink the Germans by holding out to them the hope of a Greater Germany with immense possibilities and scope to satisfy the hungry and starving Germans. These dictators are greedy and depend upon the destruction of the weaker nations for their glory and satisfaction. Empires have crumbled all over the world. Asoka

and Aurangazib fell in India, Napoleon fell in Europe and the great Ottoman Empire was smashed. Now the largest of all Empires on earth, the British Empire, is tottering. At the same time the new German Empire under the rule of Hitler is making headway. In case Hitler establishes a German Empire in Central Europe, that Empire, in a couple of score of years will go the way of all the other Empires and plunge the Germans once again into the abyss of misery, poverty and humiliation. The giant strides with which Germany is advancing on her Empire building-expedition is a clear indication that that brave people are being led to the garden of Paradise where they would be tempted to eat the forbidden fruit.

Here comes the difference between Mustafa and Hitler. Mustafa does not want a Turkish Empire, but he wants a strong and rich Turkish nation, ready and prepared to hold her own against others. He wants a Turkey for Turks and nothing more. His is a principle of 'live and let live,' and guided by this principle he has moulded his country. He is the only just dictator to-day with just and limited ambitions. He is a strict nationalist and avoids intriguing in International politics. He has very carefully avoided entering into this or that group of powers and has strived to establish friendly relations with all his neighbours. The New Turkey under Kemal Pasha is as strong as other European nations and if she so desires can make a bid for a Turkish Empire. But Kemal Ataturk (the Great Turk) does not wish it.

## II

Mustafa Kamal came to the limelight during the World War. He was known to the people of Turkey as the 'hero of Gallipoli.' The victory at Gallipoli gave him leadership among the soldiers. Kemal's name as a great soldier came to be the talk of the world only after his victory at Gallipoli.

During the World War the decisive war in the East was fought at the Straits of Dardanelles, which opened the way to Constantinople. The capture of Constantinople would end the War in the East, while failure to capture the city would turn the fortunes of war on the side of the Germans. Therefore the best of England's sailors and soldiers were sent to Dardanelles. On March 18, 1915 the Anglo-French fleet assembled in the Dardanelles and opened fire on the Turkish battalions stationed on the mountain ranges of Sari Bair and Chunuk Bair in Gallipoli. The Commander-in-Chief for the Straits was a German Officer named Liman von Sanders. Mustafa Kemal was a Lieutenant Colonel commanding the 19th Turkish Division.

The British and French ships rained volleys of shell-fire over the Turkish positions. The Turkish army was composed of sturdy Anatolian peasants who fought with desperate boldness against the superior forces of the British and French. The Turkish battalions were armed with old and out-of-date guns, while their enemies were equipped with the latest and best war machinery. The battle of Gallipoli was



a battle of life and death to the Turks. On many occasions they were defeated and forced back. Thousands of brave Anatolians were mown down by British artillery. Still the 19th Turkish Division fought, and that to the finish.

In the face of numerous defeats it was humanly impossible to keep up the morale of the troops. But the presence of Kemal in the front rank trenches inspired his troops to superhuman efforts, and with superhuman efforts they fought and won.

One thing we must not fail to remark. "Fortune favours the brave," says the proverb. Mustafa was the bravest of all the commanders and therefore fortune always favoured him. For instance, in the battle on the summit of the Sari Bair, Mustafa's men came to grips with the British. It was a battle of life and death, and it was the last hope. The Anatolians in spite of their desperate struggle were driven back by the British. The British soldiers overjoyed at the victory they had gained, marched to the summit of the hill and tried to march to the sea by the other side. The Anatolians, though defeated and driven back, had not left the battle-field. They were in hiding in the trenches, crevices of rock, and holes in the hills, waiting for Divine assistance to save them from humiliation and complete surrender. As the British soldiers reached the summit, the ships' guns flashed, and a salvo of heavy shells burst upon the Sari Bair. For a few seconds the earth was torn up and flung into the air. When the dust and smoke settled down

not a single British soldier could be seen on the hill. But in shell-holes and along the slopes of the hill lay hundreds of mutilated corpses and dying men. Fearful cries rent the air, which still trembled from the shattering force of the salvo that had just been discharged. A wild panic seized the British troops.

That was a god-sent hope to the Turks. The Turkish battalion, under the command of Kemal, gathered whatever strength was left of it, and stormed Sari Bair. The British ships again fired, but they missed the mark and killed their own men. The British battalions, completely broken up, ran back to the shore, and Sari Bair remained secure in the hands of the Turks.

The failure of the great British offensive decided the fortunes of war in favour of the Turks. It raised Mustafa Kemal as 'the hero of the day,' who went through the Gallipoli inferno. The courage, the sagacity and the tenacity with which he fought earned for him the admiration of his friends as well as enemies. At the battle of Gallipoli he established his reputation as a soldier of the highest rank, and ever since the Turkish soldiers regarded him as the greatest of commanders.

### III

In the last chapter we introduced Mustafa Kemal as the "hero of Gallipoli." Now we shall go back to the years of his childhood, and find out, if any, the signs of a great soldier in him hidden in his infancy.

Ali Rıza was a Customs Officer at the Port of Salomka. Though he was under the employ of the Imperial Ottoman Emperor, he had much to find fault with the Emperor's rule. The vastness of the Empire made the administration very difficult, and besides, the numerous tribes of people, who composed the Empire, rose in revolt against the Emperor, whenever they got an opportunity. Therefore, the brave young Turks were continually sacrificed in the deserts of Arabia and Syria, in Egypt and Tripoli to fight against the revolting factions of the Empire. During the last four hundred years of her existence, the Ottoman Empire found herself at war with neighbours and hostile subjects for nearly two hundred and fifty years. There never was a real interval of peace. Therefore there was no time to think of improving the condition of the people or of making the administration efficient. Huge sums of money were spent to maintain a large unwieldy army for keeping intact the borders of the Empire. When revolts became frequent and money became scarce the soldiers were starved. This created dissatisfaction in the rank and file. Officers became corrupt and did not shrink from doing any mean act if by that they could gain their selfish ends. Everywhere there was disorder and confusion. In short, all was not well with the Imperial Ottoman Empire.

During this period, when the Empire was showing visible signs of impending destruction, there was born a son to Ali Rıza. He was named Mustafa. In

the year 1881, the year of Mustafa's birth, the Ottoman Empire, which was at the zenith of its glory during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, was ruled by the much hated, or shall we say, the universally hated Sultan Abdul Hamid. This Sultan, in his endeavour to protect the vast boundaries of his Empire, maintained a large army, for the upkeep of which he had exhausted his treasury. Over and above he had borrowed tons of money from other European nations, as a result of which he was always at the mercy of his debtors. Besides, as a security for the money they had lent, the debtors were allowed to have control over the administration of the big Empire. In short, Abdul Hamid was heading rapidly towards bankruptcy.

Zubeida Hanum, Mustafa's mother, was a true Muslim lady; she was loyal to the Sultan-Caliph. She wanted her son to be a true Mussalman, a scholar, and a priest. Ali Riza wanted to give his son a sound education. He hoped that he would be able to send his son to one of the German schools. He wanted to make Mustafa a great man. With this ambition at heart the poor Customs Officer pondered day and night to discover ways and means to collect money sufficient to provide for his son's education. As a Customs Officer he could have earned much if only he would take to bribery. Everyone did it, and no one associated anything infamy with accepting bribes. But honest Ali Riza could not think of practising such evil—for

evil he thought that practice to be. Therefore he resigned his job under the Sultan and became a trader in timber.

Mustafa grew up to be a boy. He was just like his mother in his features. His long nose, his light blue eyes and his compressed lips gave him the impression of one who was born to be great. It was the eye that revealed in him the Grey Wolf, a true specimen of the purest Turkish race, which came down to Asia Minor from far of Mangolia.

Mustafa was very reserved from childhood. He seemed to enjoy playing with himself and his thoughts rather than playing with other children of his age. He always seemed to be thinking of something. From those early years he had a notion that he was different from other children. This notion burned as a desire in his heart, and he was often heard to stay to himself that he wanted to be 'somebody'.

First Mustafa was put to a Mahomedan school. There he made very little progress. Then he was shifted to another school conducted on European lines. This school was managed by Chemsî Effendi, who was extremely pleased to welcome a bright lad like Mustafa into his school. Under Chemsî's tuition the lad made good progress. The teacher placed him at the head of the class and praised him much. Any other boy would have been spoiled by such honour, but Mustafa was not at all affected. He kept aloof from his companions. He lived in his own little

world of thoughts and imagination. At the same time he inspired awe and respect in the minds of his classmates.

Unfortunately for Mustafa a break occurred in his studies. Ali Riza died suddenly, leaving the mother and son to shift for themselves. The father was the mainstay of the family, and when he died poverty stared Zubeida in the face.

Mustafa's uncle came to the rescue. He was a peasant living in a small village a few miles away from Salonika. He was neither poor nor prosperous. He took the mother and son into his family. Here was a new occupation for young Mustafa. He worked in the field and herded the sheep and goats. Mustafa attacked the new work with typical energy and thoroughness. He would lie on the green grass for hours visualising himself to be a would-be-farmer while the sheep grazed by him. Now he put on dirty cloths in place of the elegant well pressed suit that he wore when his father lived. Ali Riza believed in appearance. He had a desire to be elegant and well dressed, and during his life he was seldom seen ungainly attired. Mustafa took a model of his father and tried to appear as elegant and well dressed as he could. But now his father was dead, his uncle was poor, and he could not find the means to clothe himself as he wished.

Zubeida felt much for her son. She was pained to see her son worked hard in the field. She thought that her son promised something great and so it was

necessary to provide him with a sound education, which alone could enable him to be somebody in the Ottoman Empire. Slowly she persuaded her brother to send Mustafa to school at Salonika. The uncle complied with the wish, and Mustafa went to school. Zubeida toiled hard to earn as much as she could.

Things do not shape as we want them to be. Zubeida wanted her son to be a scholar, a philosopher, or a professor. But Mustafa was destined to be a great soldier. A small incident terminated his school career and for a second time he returned to work in his uncle's farm.

One day Mustafa had a scuffle with one of his classmates, who insulted him. Though he was poor Mustafa was very touchy. He defended his honour and pride with his fists. As he was pounding his classmate's skull with his fists, one of the masters in the school happened to pass by that way. That teacher had a particular dislike of Mustafa, for he made open his contempt for Arabic, the master's pet subject. The master got a chance to teach Mustafa a lesson. The master took Mustafa to task for bullying one of his companions, and thrashed him soundly before the boys. Mustafa was cut to the quick. He felt that he had been unjustly punished, for his only crime was, if it was a crime at all, to defend his honour. His grey wolf's eyes stared at the master and then he returned to his seat in silence. The boys who looked at Mustafa then clearly perceived that a sudden change had come over him. His calmness

was terrible and it foreshadowed something terrible. At the close of the hour Mustafa walked out of the school and never returned to it.

Zubeida sustained a terrible blow. All her efforts to provide Mustafa with a thorough schooling were in vain. But she knew that her son would have his own way and it would be humanly impossible to persuade him to attend the same school which he had left. There was no other school in the neighbourhood, and Zubeida could not afford to send him to Constantinople.

One day the good mother reminded her son that he desired to become somebody. She asked him how he could become somebody if he worked in the farm of his uncle. This appeal to his pride roused the grey wolf in him. In reply to his mother's question he walked out of the house.

Mustafa was only twelve summers old then. He went to Major Kadri who lived nearby. Major Kadri was an old friend of Ali Riza. He had seen Mustafa many times and liked the look of him. Now Mustafa went to the Major and standing erect before him, politely requested him to aid him in getting admission to a military academy. The Major viewed the young lad who seemed to possess great confidence in his ability and thought to himself that Mustafa was a born soldier. Kadri was delighted to help Mustafa.

Soon after Mustafa appeared before the examiners and fired off his answers like shots from a pistol. The examiners discovered the brilliant soldier in him.



and were pleased to admit him to the academy. Thus before Zubeida could guess what her son might be about Mustafa became a Cadet.

In the Cadet School at Salonika Mustafa found his feet. He had longed to don the uniform and to lead people in war. He was beginning to realise his dream, and the first step had been taken. Zubeida welcomed the news with a heavy heart. She did not like her son to become a soldier in the Ottoman Empire, for the Sultan was always at war. Zubeida feared that perhaps she might lose her son in one such war. But, as she fully knew that nothing on earth could change the decision of her son, she resigned herself to the inevitable.

Mustafa had an uncommon flair for mathematics and all other military subjects. The masters at the Cadet School found him to be a brilliant but a difficult youth with whom it was impossible to be intimate. When he was seventeen Mustafa passed out well from the Cadet School and was sent to the Senior Military School at Monastir.

In the Cadet School at Salonika was a captain of the name Mustafa. This captain took a fancy to his pupil Mustafa and was of immense help to him. In order to distinguish himself from his pupil the captain gave him the second name of Kemal. Since then he was known as Mustafa Kemal.

In his studies Kemal was as successful in Monastir as he had been in the Cadet school at Salonika. Now guns began to roar near Salonika.

The Greeks rebelled against the Sultan and captured Crete. The Sultan sent his armies and navy and suppressed the rebellion. In a military sense the Sultan won a victory, but he was unable to curb the spirit of revolt.

There was much discontent at home. The European countries became democratic, and books and pamphlets expounding the doctrine of freedom and liberty found their way into the Ottoman Empire. The Turks were disgusted with the despotic rule of the Sultan and longed for a change. There were many secret parties formed to spread the new born democratic ideas. Conspiracies were being planned for the overthrow of Abdul Hamid. The internal dissension was encouraged and helped indirectly by the Jews, Armenians and Greeks who controlled the economic and financial problems of the Empire. The Ottoman Empire was on the last phase of its agonies.

Mustafa Kemal keenly watched the war manoeuvres and followed with the ardent enthusiasm of a soldier the military activities. At times he lost himself for hours in calculations and then suddenly flaired out with his criticisms of the Generals who had grown old in the service of the Turkish army. His criticisms were strongly resented by the Generals, but during calm moments they had to admit that Kemal was right.

Kemal evinced equal enthusiasm in absorbing the new ideas of democracy and freedom that were brought to him by his friends. Mustafa Kemal was

a born rebel and in his heart of hearts he determined to play a prominent part in the overthrow of the Sultan. He wanted his Turkey to be an independent and free nation on an equal footing with the European countries. He had no religious scruples, on the other hand he hated the religion of the Prophet, which hindered the progress of his people in every possible way. His strong conviction was that religion was a faith, and it should be left to the individual to accept or reject it. But religion should not be allowed to play any part in the material progress of a nation.

Mustafa Kemal passed all his examinations with flying colours and now the career of officer stood before him. He went to Constantinople to join the Staff College. Mustafa's mother wondered how she could find means to enable her son to live in accordance with his rank. At this critical moment Fate took an important hand in the affair. A wealthy citizen of Rhodes proposed marriage to the widowed Zubeida, and she gave her consent though with great reluctance. It was a great sacrifice she did and that for her Kemal's sake. She was willing to sacrifice everything for Kemal.

As his wont Mustafa kept aloof from his comrades. At first his comrades regarded him dubiously and felt that he was mysteriously brilliant. They dared not approach him without caution. But they admired him. At the Staff College, many of the students were reading revolutionary literature. One day one of Kemal's comrades handed him a book written by

a Turkish exile. The book described the ruinous policy of the Sultan and exposed the impending danger to Turkey if the foreigners were not expelled from the country. Mustafa could not devine how and why such an excellent book came to be proscribed. The rebel in him was aroused and soon he found himself at the head of a secret society of students of the Staff College. Also he edited a newspaper *Vatan* (fatherland) which was secretly circulated.

The officers of the Staff College, though they did not get mixed up in the revolutionary activities of their subordinates, connived at them; in their reports they even praised the young would-be-army commanders. This attitude of the superior officers, helped the steady progress of revolutionary activities.

After a couple of years at the Staff College, Mustafa passed out as an officer in the army of the Ottoman Empire and he was gazetted as captain. He, with his comrades, was waiting to be sent to their battalions. Meanwhile these young army officers pursued their secret activities with untiring energy. They met in a cafe and discussed their plans. They had not the ghost of an idea that the Sultan's secret police was on their track.

One evening Mustafa and his comrades met in the cafe as usual. That evening they were to receive a new recruit to their society, and that new comer was to be introduced to the members of the society by one of the fraternity, Fethi Bey. When

the night had fairly advanced, the would be revolutionary entered the cafe accompanied by Fethi Bey.

The new recruit made a good impression on the assembly who soon began to tell him of the objects of the society. That seemed hardly necessary, for the new man was already surprisingly well informed. He started to ask questions and displayed a keen interest in the aims, organization and members of the society. After a while he introduced himself as one of the secret agents of the Sultan and told the assembly that they were under arrest.

All the faces turned pale and Mustafa pressed his lips together. So cleverly did the secret agent carry out his designs that the secret society was locked up behind iron doors *en bloc*.

#### IV

Mustafa and companions were taken to the Red Prison where they were kept waiting for months after months before they were tried. Many expected to be hanged. Mustafa bit his lips and wandered in his cell many times a day brooding over the fate that awaited him. Something told him that he would be released and would once more be free to carry on his activities.

Relief came at last. The Sultan had decided not to destroy such excellent young men who were selected to be the commanders of his army. He thought of posting them at the remote corners of his Empire, where they would be isolated from civilized society and their companions. The Sultan thought that

in the loneliness of their environment they would eat their hearts, and slowly, with the passing of time would forget the new ideas of freedom and then would reconcile to the old ways of life and would turn out to be loyal servants.

So one morning ere the sun had risen over the mountain ranges of Gallipoli, a steamer carried Mustafa to Syria. He was appointed as Captain of the Army in Syria. Mustafa gladly welcomed the fresh air of the open sea. Though he felt a little uneasy at the thought of the sad ending of his revolutionary activities, he felt he had the strength to revive the work he had begun, and waited for an opportunity to reorganise his friends.

At Syria he found out that the Arabs hated the Turks and there were many skirmishes between the two people. This revealed to him the truth that it was one of the greatest blunders of the ancient Sultans of Turkey to attempt to keep under permanent subjection a hostile race like the Arabs. Now he realised fully that the main reason for the downfall of the Ottoman Empire was its largeness and the diversity of the races it consisted of. This decided Mustafa to endeavour to establish not a big Turkish Empire with a large majority of un-Turkish races, but to found a New Turkey composed of only the true Turkish people.

Here it will not be out of place to point out that Mustafa foresaw the danger, such as had come upon Czechoslovakia, threatening Turkey. It is common knowledge

today that the shearing of Czechoslovakia was brought about by the Sudeten Germans who formed a large minority in Czechoslovakia. Had the Peacemakers of 1919 not included the Sudeten Germans in the Czech country, the recent catastrophe would not have happened to that little Republic. The Sudeten Germans were after all Germans and could not see eye to eye with the Czechs. Therefore when Germany came to power under Hitler they shook off the yoke that was imposed upon them by the victors of the World War and found their proper place among their countrymen.

Even before the outbreak of the World War Mustafa could visualise the danger of keeping hostile people under subjection by brute force. So he decided that the Turkish Nation should mainly consist of Turks. On this point Mustafa's friends disagreed with him. Especially Enver Pasha who was the Minister of War for some time and who had a great ambition for collecting all the followers of the Prophet on earth under the Turkish banner, became Mustafa's bitter enemy. To this story we will come to a little later.

Even in far off Syria there were revolutionary committees. But these committees were quite impotent and could do nothing to bring about a revolution in Syria. Again a revolution in Syria would be out of the question as long as the Arabs were hostile to the Sultan.

Salonika was the centre of the most virulent elements of the revolution and so Mustafa longed to go there

and be once more among his friends. After long, lengthy correspondence with the War Office he managed to get himself transferred to Salonika.

At Salonika the born rebel found his feet. The old friends returned to him and they sat late into the night hatching their plots.

In July, 1908, the revolution broke out in Salonika. Now a committee of the name "Unity and Progress" suddenly came into being. No one could say what the committee really was. Its members remained invisible. It had all appearance of a secret society, but was surrounded by a weird atmosphere that was half European enlightenment and half Asiatic mystery.

The *coup d'etat* of July, 1908, placed power in the hands of the Committee. Its power was supported by the byonets of the Salonika garrison. In Constantinople the Sultan's followers rose against the Committee, but could not achieve much. The deposed Abdul Hamid, the Sultan, left the country and the Committee began to rule the country.

The internal dissention in Turkey afforded the different factions of the Empire a chance to rise against the Central Government. The Greek and Bulgarians revolted in the North and Arabs revolted in the South. Italy conquered Tripoli. Mustafa and Enver went to Tripoli to inspire the Turkish army there to defend that country. Although the soldiers fought very bravely they could not defeat the superior forces of Italy. Mustafa, as well as Enver, knew that Tripoli would be lost to the Ottoman Empire, still Enver sent



false messages of victory to the Committee at home. This created a split between Kemal and Enver. Kemal attacked and criticised Enver's policy which he said was ruinous to the welfare of Turkey. Enver was an opportunist and very ambitious. He wanted to rise by any means, foul or fair. In Mustafa Kemal he found a bitter enemy. He knew Mustafa too well to oppose openly; so he bided his time and was waiting for his chance.

When Tripoli was lost to the Turkish nation, Kemal and Enver returned home. Now they were engaged in recapturing the lost positions in Greece and Bulgaria. In this they succeeded. Thus after two years of war the Committee maintained Turkey's military prestige by holding intact the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire.

Enver Pasha had emerged as the chief victor in many of the battles and in consequence became the Minister of War. Mustafa was raised to the rank of a General-Staff Major in the army.

Here it is to be remembered that Turkey had a King. After the dethronement of Abdul Hamid his successor Muhammed V became the Sultan of Turkey. But now the Sultan was nothing more than a figure-head and his main official duty was to affix his signature to the papers presented to him by the all powerful Committee.

Enver Pasha's first task on his becoming the Minister of War was to strike at all his enemies. He dismissed all those with whom he disagreed. But

with Mustafa Kemal, who was his foremost enemy, he could not deal so easily and so openly. Mustafa had a following and his worth was already recognized even by his enemies. Still it was necessary for Enver to keep Kemal away from Constantinople, so that he might not harass the War Department with his bitter and spicy criticisms. Enver managed this by sending Mustafa to Sofia, as a military attache. Sofia was in far off Bulgaria, and there Mustafa would be kept away from home affairs.

Mustafa went to Sofia and spent much of his time in the clubs. Apparently it seemed that he was neglecting his work, and Enver rejoiced at the seeming indifference of Kemal in meddling with politics. It is true that Mustafa became a familiar figure in the cafes and clubs of Sofia, at the same time he was very keenly and regularly following events at home. The forced exile in Sofia did not deter him from his objective. He sent regularly long reports to the War Office criticising Enver and his methods. This no doubt embarrassed the Minister of War a good deal, but he could do nothing.

## V

Internal chaos had scarcely died down when the World War broke out. Mustafa, being nearer to Europe than his friends at Constantinople, smelt the advancing catastrophe earlier. He correctly foresaw that the Ottoman Empire would be drawn into the conflict. Now he became restive and felt a great desire to come to the capital. In a war the only place for a

soldier is the front. But Enver wanted to keep Mustafa away from the front.

When war was declared Mustafa wrote to the War Office asking for his transfer to the front. His application was rejected and besides he was ordered to stay at Sofia. Mustafa could not remain content with the company of idlers in the clubs in Sofia. He disregarded Enver's order and marched to the front with his soldiers. He went straight to Gallipoli where the fighting was intense.

In the World War Turkey joined hands with the Germans and fought against the Allies.

We have already described before Mustafa's activities at Gallipoli. Now suffice it to state that after the victory at Gallipoli Mustafa was known as the greatest soldier of the day.

Now Mustafa was sent to Syria to stop the advance of the British and Arab army. Here also he was under the German, Marshal Liman von Sanders, who was in command of the entire Syrian Army.

As days and months passed the fortunes of war seemed to be in favour of the Allies. The Germans had been defeated on the Western front. On the East, Bulgaria had capitulated and was at the mercy of the Allies. At this critical moment the Sultan of Turkey, who had till now been nothing better than a figure head, suddenly seized the reins of Government and began to rule like a dictator. Enver Pasha's hour had struck. He ran away to Germany. The Sultan could clearly see that his Empire was

rapidly crumbling to pieces. Anxious to save his throne he hastened to stop all hostilities and tried to establish peace.

Now came the Armistice. The war had ended, throwing many young officers out of employment. Mustafa was one of them. A few months before the Armistice he was raised to the position of a General and was posted in place of Marshal Liman von Sanders, who had left Turkey on account of his disagreement with Enver Pasha. At the close of the war Mustafa was only a common citizen. The Sultan, anxious to secure the good-will of the English who hated Mustafa, dismissed Kemal from the army.

What could the Gray Wolf do? He had no official rank, he had no army to command, he was reduced to a man in the street. Yet he had collected round him a few men who had been in the army with him during the war. One such companion was Colonel Arif. Then there was Colonel Refat. Still another was Colonel Ismet (To-day Ismet is the President of the Turkish Republic). These and some others sought the company of Mustafa and they discussed at great length some plots and plans.

## VI

Armistice made the Sultan a prey to foreign powers. Enver Pasha ran away to Germany and was not heard of for a long time. The Allied armies occupied all the Turkish ports, and demanded the immediate demobilization of the whole Turkish force. The Sultan, whose only aim was to save the throne, readily agreed.

to execute the demands of the victors. When the Turkish people knew that the Sultan was going to surrender everything but his throne, they decided to protest. Again the Army Commanders who had fought many brave battles did not like the idea of their being reduced to mere slaves. As if adding fuel to the fire of discontent that was rampant among the rank and file of the Turkish army, the Allied Powers decided that the Greeks should be allowed to occupy Smyrna and the Province of Aidan. The Greeks, who had for long been the subjects of the Sultan, are now to be masters in Turkey. That was more than the Turks could bear. The Greek Army had already marched into Smyrna and began to burn houses, beat and saber the Turks, insult the Turkish women, and do every act of cruelty that, in their opinion, taught the Turkish dogs a lesson. The bold Turks saw with their own eyes the suffering that had been inflicted upon them, and found the Sultan powerless to protect them from the hands of the Greeks.

The Grey Wolf woke up. The proud Turks could not bear the insult any longer. The Eastern Provinces of Turkey began to stir. Small knots of people gathered to-gether, talked in secret, and began to hide fire-arms. The people had heard of the coming demobilization, and they were reluctant to give up the arms which they had carried. They began to store up all the arms they could collect so that they might be near at hand when time came to

use them. The secret agents of the Allied Powers informed their head-quarters at Constantinople about the stirring activities. The Allied Commissioners pressed the Sultan to establish peace in the country, and to demobilize the troops immediately. The Sultan was in a fix and he could do nothing but obey the orders of the Allied Commissioners. He was Sultan only in name, for he had no real power to do anything, however trifling it might be, without the consent of the powers.

The Sultan pondered. Where could he find an officer who enjoyed the confidence of the army as well as the people. He wanted some one who could exert a great influence over the army commanders and could effect the demobilization without arousing any suspicion in the rank and file. He thought of Mustafa Kemal. There was none better suited for such a task. At the same time the Sultan had his fears. But he had to bow to the inevitable.

Mustafa was appointed as the Inspector-General of the Turkish forces in Eastern Anatolia and was instructed to disarm the army. Mustafa's staff contained Arif, Rafat and three other officers. He set sail from Constantinople to Samsun. At the time of his starting he left a secret code to his friends Ismet and Fevzi Pasha, who were officials in the War Office.

The people of Samsun told Mustafa of the horrible tales of the atrocities committed by the Greek troops in Smyrna. These tales moved the Grey Wolf much, and there and then he determined to

devote his life for rebuilding Turkey. His first work was to go to the telegraph office and establish communication with all the army chiefs in East Anatolia. He telegraphed to them his intention of rebuilding the Turkish army to defend Turkey from the aggression of foreign powers. Some of the Army Generals suspected that Mustafa was revolting against the Sultan, whom they considered to be the representative of Allah on earth. Mustafa argued that the movement he proposed starting was chiefly aiming at freeing the great Sultan-Caliph, from the death-grip of the European powers. That was a clever stroke, and it directly went home. Now not a single soul suspected Mustafa's loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph. From all the Army Generals in Anatolia promises of support came through the wire. Kemal heaved a sigh of relief. He had taken the first step.

Now he toured the different villages and towns and preached to the people, mainly peasants, the very stock of men who fought under him in the battle of Gallipoli, the gospel of national revolution. He reminded them of their origin and of their honourable past. He told them of their ancestors, who came down from far off Mangolia and established an Empire. He compared those days of honour, glory, and wealth, with the present days of shame, humiliation and misery, and appealed to them to awake and fight for the deliverance of the noble Turkish race from the evil genius of the European nations. He called upon them to protect their Sultan,

who, under the pressure of the victors, was drifting like a rudderless boat rocking at every projecting rock, tossed by the angry breakers, towards his doom. He pointed out that the Sultan was dragging the whole Turkish nation with him to destruction.

The people stared at the "hero of Gallipoli." They took in every word, and shook their heads in approval. "He is a messenger of Allah," said one and all. "Allah has sent him at a time when we need him most. He is our saviour. Let him lead us, and we shall follow him."

Mustafa had judged his audience rightly. His appeal to the hardy peasants of Anatolia bore fruit. National demonstration was displayed in every village and town. The people tumbled up from their slumber, they shook off their desperation like a dog who had been into the river, and they showed their readiness to sacrifice their lives to their country's honour.

Mustafa invited all the Generals of the army in East Anatolia to attend the Congress he intended to hold at Sivas. He requested each district to send two representatives.

The Sultan fumed and raged with anger when he heard of Mustafa's activities. He decided to get Mustafa arrested and put him into prison. At first he persuaded Kemal to give up his activities. When that failed he ordered Marshal Kiazim Karabekir, the Commander-in-Chief for East Provinces to arrest Mustafa. The Marshal received the order when he was



attending the Congress at Sivas. The Marshal called Mustafa, who was presiding over the Congress, aside and told him about the order. Mustafa saw the danger, but he had confidence in the Marshal who had promised to stand by him. Kemal argued that the Sultan was acting under instructions from the Allied Powers, and to obey the Sultan would be playing into the hands of the enemies. The Marshal saw that Kemal was right and tore off the Sultan's order.

At the Congress a National Pact was signed. At once Mustafa wired to the Sultan demanding the resignation of Damad Ferid Pasha's Cabinet. Damad Pasha was the Grand Vizier, and was the brother-in-law of the Sultan. The Sultan moved uneasily in his throne when he heard the voice of the rebel—Kemal—at the end of the wire. The Sultan was clever, and he decided to defeat Mustafa with his cunning. He announced the resignation of Damad Pasha's Cabinet and invited the Nationalists to go to Constantinople to form a parliament. Kemal saw through the Sultan's snare. The Sultan wanted to get the Nationalists near at hand and then to clap them into jail with the assistance of the British.

Mustafa's friends seemed to be satisfied with the turn of events. They visualized Mustafa as the Grand Vizier, and thought that everything was bright. Many of the Nationalists were elected from the Eastern Provinces to be sent to Constantinople as deputies to the National Assembly which was to sit and talk in the presence of the Sultan. The

deputies were as gay as the lark and went to Constantinople. The Assembly met and the debates continued.

Mustafa remained alone in Anatolia. There was Arif with him. He toured the different villages and appealed to them to be ever ready to sacrifice themselves to the National cause. His presence electrified the villages and hundreds of men volunteered for service. Now Mustafa had made Ankara his headquater. He was keenly watching the developments in Constantinople. He had no faith in the Sultan's good intentions. He was expecting a blow every moment.

While the Nationalist deputies debated in the parliament the Sultan made a list of all the Nationalists and handed them over to the English. He had requested the English to arrest all the Nationalists *en masse*. The Sultan sent many agents to different parts of the country to organize rebellion against Mustafa Kemal. The Grey Wolf had his own secret police and they were more efficient than the Sultan's spies. Therefore the news of the Sultan's intended rising against him reached him earlier than it reached his deputies in Constantinople. Now he thought that the time had come for action. He issued orders to the Nationalist army in Anatolia to capture all the positions occupied by the British and French. Large armed formations of Turkish youth marched to the South and drove the French from Maras and Urfa; the English evacuated

Eski Shehir Also the English were forced to evacuate the port of Samsun, the only port open to Turkey All the other Turkish ports were occupied by the Allied Powers

Now the storm arose Many priests carrying the flag of the Prophet travelled from village to village and exhorted the people to defend the Sultan-Caliph The cry of religion in danger brought forth thousands of men to fight for the Sultan The country was plunged into Civil War Mustafa's greatest moment came He was openly fighting against the Sultan and his future and the future of Turkey depended upon the result of the war

In the meanwhile the British arrested almost all the Nationalists in Constantinople A few managed to escape and joined Mustafa at Ankara Among these were Colonel Ismet and Fevzi Pasha The latter was the Minister of War and was supposed to work for the National Revolution secretly The former was Fevzi Pasha's Private Secretary, and was an intimate friend of Mustafa Ismet, though young in years, was one of the best men in the army/ He could lead men, and could command the army better than the best commanders Now Mustafa made Ismet the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist Army

By now the Allied troops had entered Constantinople and the city was in British hands The Sultan was an Emperor without an Empire and his orders

had no effect beyond the walls of his palace. The campaign against Mustafa was directed by the Allied Powers under the name of the Sultan.

The fate of Turkey was in the balance for seventeen months after the declaration of peace. On May 1920, the Big Three (Britain, France and Italy) published the conditions of peace. The Sultan turned pale when he read the condition. Constantinople and straits were to be placed under international control, and the Sultan, as Head of the Mohammedan religion, was to remain in the Golden Horn, and reside under the eyes of the English. South Anatolia, Kilikia and its capital Adana were to fall to France, Italy was to receive the territory of Adalia, and Smyrna was to become Greek. Cut off from all access to the sea, Turkey was to have central Anatolia and Turks were to live in that barren mountainous region. The Arab provinces were to be placed under the British and French mandates, and a new Armenian Republic was to be created in the Eastern Provinces and along the Black sea.

In short the dividing of the Ottoman Empire was an exact parallel to, or perhaps, more cruel than the slicing of Czechoslovakia by Germany and the other Totalitarian States.

Mustafa saw to that that every villager and peasant in Anatolia was made known in detail the terms of peace. That had a great reaction. The followers of Sultan clearly perceived that the Sultan-Caliph had

no power to save Turkey from the hands of the foreigners. They turned their eyes to Mustafa, the only man in all Turkey who could save their country and their honour. Suddenly the Civil War came to an end. Thousands of men young and old, joined the ranks of the Nationalist Army. Now all their energies were directed to drive away the foreigners from Turkey.

Mustafa had not thought of reconquering Syria and the Arab provinces. He left to the Arabs and Syrians the defending of their rights and interests. He wanted Turkey for Turks and for that he fought.

The Sultan trembled. His Empire was gone. He was to remain as the chief of the Mohameden religion. But what could he do? He was between the devil and the deep. The Allied Powers asked him to sign the peace treaty, and to proclaim the conditions of peace through out his Empire—how funny does the 'Empire' sound now! The Sultan could do nothing but to obey the order of the Allied Powers.

The Sultan signed the peace treaty and proclaimed the conditions, but he could not enforce the conditions on his people. Then, there was Mustafa Kemal preparing for battle. A couple of days after the signing of the peace by the Sultan, Constantinople was surrounded by the Nationalist Turkish Army. The British battleships lay in the Straits of Bosphorus. Both the shores were

occupied by the Kemalist battalions and they threatened to open fire on the ships, if the British showed any inclination to occupy the Straits. The English captain dared not risk his men and honour against the Turkish bayonets, of which he had tasted during the days of Gallipoli fighting. The French and Italian Captains refused to support the English in imposing the peace conditions on Turkey by force. French had learned much about Turkish valour and they were getting disgusted with the War in the East. The French had lost a good deal in men and money in the deserts of Arabia and on the hills of Anatolia, and they dared not venture another war against the Turks. In the Caucasus, Ismet Pasha had already defeated the Armenians and drove them beyond the Turkish frontier. Thus the Armenian Republic, the pet of the Peace Conference, disappeared before the ink that moulded it was dry.

Then, who was interested in conquering Turkey ? The Greeks. For long they had their eyes on Anatolia, and so they declared to the English that they were prepared to fight to the last man in conquering Anatolia. Lloyd George welcomed the suggestion of the Greeks. France and Italy knew that England had the pick of the booty and they let her pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Besides, the crushing defeat the English had sustained in Gallipoli was fresh in the memory of the British War Minister, and perhaps, he wanted revenge.

Now the Greek army assisted by the British marched into Anatolia. The Greek army was superior in arms, in numbers and in equipment. They had the backing of the English. The Turkish army was very poorly equipped, the soldiers were half nourished, and were far smaller in number than the Greeks. But there was one difference. The Greeks fought to conquer while the Turks fought for life and it made all the difference in keeping up the morale of the soldiers. The Greeks had many victories, while the Turks sustained many defeats. But every inch of ground the Greeks captured cost them dearly.

It is not possible to give a detailed description of the war in this small book-let. But suffice it to say that during the two years of terrible war the Turks fought for their very lives, and gained a glorious victory in the end. Mustafa Kemal played a very important part in gaining the victory. His very presence in the trenches inspired the soldiers to superhuman efforts. His behaviour was an exact parallel to that of Leon Trotsky. Like Trotsky, who electrified the Russian soldiers by his very presence amidst them, Mustafa wandered from trench to trench and personally looked into the complaints of the soldiers. He encouraged them to fight and gave them the confidence that they were nearing victory. He sat at his table deeply buried in maps and charts examining the enemy positions and always taking a final decision at the most critical hour. His military strategy was unparalleled. He was the greatest soldier

of his time and it was the soldier in him that saved Turkey.

The War continued till 1923 The Turkish army had emerged victorious in the battle They drove the Greeks and British away from Turkey, and ordered the British Navy that occupied the Straits to surrender Now the British sued for peace They had enough of fighting Now they wanted to hoodwink Turkey in diplomatic broil Perhaps, the Allied Powers had thought that Turkey, being an Asiatic nation, could not boast of able statesmen They awoke from their illusion when they met face to face Ismet Pasha, the right hand man of Mustafa, at Lausanne

Before following Ismet Pasha to Lausanne, we shall try to get a glimpse of Mustafa's private life Mustafa had remained unmarried for long His mother wanted him to marry and settle in life But he was so much engrossed in political activities and war that he could find no time to think of domestic affairs. To him his country was everything

When the war was over and when foreigners were driven away from Turkey, Mustafa entered Smyrna as the victor The people called him the Ghazi This most honoured title was conferred only on a couple of the greatest of Sultans When Mustafa was crowned with victory he met a lady of the name Latifeh Hanoum. Her father was the head of a shipping company. She had studied in Paris, had enjoyed an



all-round education, and was a woman of handsome appearance.

When Smyrna was under the Greeks she did secret service and transmitted intelligence to the Turkish High Command. When the Ghazi entered the city as the victor she offered her house on the hillside at Burnabad for his residence. That was their first meeting. It was a bold act for a Mohammedan lady to ask a stranger, however noble and great he might be, to stay with her. This very boldness of the lady immensely pleased Mustafa. Their friendship developed into love and they became man and wife.

Latifeh was of great assistance to Ghazi in his political correspondence. In fact the whole of the diplomatic correspondence with England passed through her hands. She was always present at Mustafa's side during inspection of troops. During conferences she intervened in the debate and with her cold logic and skilled criticisms put her opponents to flight.

The marriage was not altogether harmonious. Latifeh was as determined and self-possessed as Kemal. Between husband and wife there was a tension; still Kemal found Latifeh indispensable.

## VII

The Peace Conference opened at Lausanne. The Turkish Delegation headed by Ismet Pasha entered the hall. They were welcomed rather coldly by the Allied representatives. Mussolini's expression was

hostile, Poincare's, the French representative, was far from encouraging and Lord Curzon, England's spokesman, was rather reserve. Ismet looked round and found that the Turkish Delegation was provided ordinary chairs, while the other delegates had arm-chairs. Ismet was cut to the quick by this insult; it was a clear sign that the Big Three were not willing to acknowledge Turkey as their equal. But Ismet knew how to play his game. He controlled his anger and demanded an explanation for not having supplied the Turkish Delegation with arm-chairs. They explained that it was due to the shortness of time and such other things. Ismet curtly replied, "Then we will return when the arm-chairs are available." The Big Three were taken aback. They did not want to break the Conference before it began.

In the twinkling of an eye arm-chairs appeared and Ismet took his seat. This incident evidently illustrates Ismet's stubborn attitude during the Conference. At the out-set he declared that he was prepared to open discussion only on terms of perfect equality. Now as victor in the battle he began to dictate terms and was unwilling to recognize any treaty that the Allied Powers might have concluded with the Sultan. What could the Big Three do? They did not like it in the least, still they yielded. They could not face another war against Mustafa Kemal. In short when the Conference ended Turkey had got almost all her demands. Ismet came home and peace was established.

Is it possible that perfect tranquility can be gained after a great upheaval? No. Therefore the remnants of the turmoil remained in the air. The Sultan, having lost almost everything except his title, incited the Kurdish tribes to revolt against the Ghazi. Revol's broke out, but the Ghazi suppressed them. The Kurdish revolt afforded him an excuse to abolish the Sultanite. He declared the abolition of the Sultanite and proclaimed a Republic. Many of Kemal's followers and friends were conservative by nature and had, unreasonably, a great respect for the Sultan. The proclamation of the Republic made them the Ghazi's opponents. The Ghazi argued with them that the very name of Sultan smelt retrogration and tried to convert them to his new ideas of progress. He wanted to model Turkey on European lines. He wanted to root out the age old superstitious customs which had for years weighed heavily on the Turks and dragged them downward to corruption. Those who allowed to be converted regained his confidence, and others, who openly disapproved of his action went to the wall. He struck his enemies severely and removed all opposition. Now his way was clear. He could carry out his rebuilding programme, But he must be cautious, for the people were, most of them, illiterate.

The Great National Assembly elected him as the President of the State for life. Virtually he was a dictator, but a good one to boot. He worked strenuously to lay out his different plans and to execute them slowly but steadily. First he freed Turkey from

the control of International financiers. He promoted the development of home industries. Agriculture was encouraged greatly. Compulsory education was introduced. The Ghazi found the Arabic characters a great encumbrance to rapid progress, and so he introduced the Roman script. He himself introduced the script to the Turkish language and taught his officers its application. There were some mild protests and complaints, but the Ghazi would not listen to them. He wanted his people to advance rapidly and so would not spare them a minute to be sentimental and lazy. He set an example to his people in every possible way. He introduced liberal legislation on Western models in place of the old religious codes of the Sultan. He introduced social reforms. The veil disappeared, the Turkish women walked freely and boldly in the streets displaying their powdered faces and painted lips. Turkish girls wore tight-fitting European costumes, bobbed hair, and attended schools. The girls played manly games, took part in sports and some of them became famous athletes.

In Turkey, after the proclamation of the Republic men no longer wore the fuss. Why, it was a crime to wear the fuss-cap, which the Turks had worn for ages. The European ha'ts replaced the fuss. The loose, flowing shirt and pyjama disappeared, and the suit occupied its place. Turkey was Europeanizing. She was advancing, she was becoming one of the best nations in the world. She was independent; her people were free from the shackles of age long

superstition; she was becoming civilized, cultured, rich and powerful.

Who had wrought this miracle? The Ghazi. The one man. He was the saviour of Turkey; the builder of New Turkey, the true representative of Allah.

Ankara. That small village encircled by a chain of obstinate mountain ranges became the capital of New Turkey. Broad roads began to appear. Recreation Grounds sprang up every where and the mountain tops were transformed into strong fortifications.

Ismet Pasha become the Prime Minister. He laboured untiringly to accomplish the task set to him by the Ghazi. Ismet Pasha was a small man with great abilities. He had been the right hand man of the Ghazi. He enjoyed the Ghazi's confidence, and in turn he worshipped the great man.

Annually, on 29 October, the Turkish nation celebrates its national holiday, on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic.

We have now come to the end of our story, but I cannot close here. I shall have ended the story here but for the great misfortune that came upon the Turkish people last month, ie., November 1938. It was a great misfortune to Turkey, to the Muslim world, and to the whole world. Death comes to us soon or late. When we have finished our lease of life on earth we are called by the Great one and his call could not be delayed. The Great Pasha (the Ghazi) was not born great, but became great and died great.

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